

Against the Democratic Party Machine?

BUILD A LABOR PARTY BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS!

The Democratic Party primary elections reveal the tremendous divisions within this party, divisions that Democratic Party politicians are all trying, in one way or another, to heal. This article takes a look at those divisions. It argues that it is not in the interests of working people of any race or nationality to try to save this party. On the contrary, they must build their own.

BY MARGARET GUTTSALL

Most bourgeois commentators are still focusing on the race between Mondale and Hart. But a far more interesting race is developing, between Mondale, Hart and Jesse Jackson.

Mondale and Hart have far more delegates than Jackson has. But, in union working class towns, Detroit and Chicago, and in Southern states, where Democratic Party and AFL-CIO bosses have been campaigning vehemently for Mondale and against Jackson for months, Jackson is getting 30% to 50% of the vote! In the 1st and 13th Congressional districts in Detroit, home town of Black Democratic Party leader Coleman Young and the UAW, 31.5% of the people voted for Jackson, even after months of Young's attacks, calling him Reagan's agent, etc.

As one working class voter put it: "The union bosses are selling out the workers of America . . . The hell with Coleman Young and his support. This type of caucus — controlled by the Democratic Party and Big Labor — is ripe for corruption."

The closeness of the votes and the bitterness of the campaigns, particularly in the cities, show the deep divisions within the Democratic Party — between the Democratic Party machine and the AFL-CIO bureaucracy (associated with Mondale), discontented bourgeois and petty bourgeois elements (associated with Hart), and the masses of union, working class and Black voters, many of whom have associated themselves with Jackson.

These divisions, resulting largely from increasing working class opposition to the Democratic Party, are the same divisions that have torn the Democratic Party apart and prevented it from defeating the reactionary Republicans in one important election after another — Humphrey vs. Nixon in 1968; McGovern vs. Nixon in 1972; Carter vs. Reagan in 1980. They are the same divisions that will prevent it from doing so in 1984.

"The union bosses are selling out the workers of America . . . The hell with Coleman Young and his support. This type of caucus — controlled by the Democratic Party and Big Labor — is ripe for corruption." — a working class Jackson supporter from Detroit

"We must heal our wounds basically because if the party remains broken we cannot win . . ." — Jesse Jackson to fellow Democrats in Chicago

Naturally bourgeois and petty bourgeois politicians like Mondale, Hart and even Jackson want to heal these divisions. Their future depends on this. Jesse Jackson expressed this perspective most succinctly in the recent debate between Mondale, Hart and Jackson in Chicago. Reporters were asking Mondale about his relationship with Ed Vrdolyak, the

avowedly racist chairman of the Democratic Party in Chicago and Cook County, who has tried to sabotage Black Democratic Party Mayor Harold Washington's administration. Jackson said: ". . . Mr. Mondale has accepted Mr. Vrdolyak's endorsement . . . Mr. Mondale endorsed someone in the middle of the Democratic primary, and that became a divisive factor in the process and that division has not yet stopped. However, that is behind us now, but that is a fact for the record. We must now heal our wounds basically because if the party remains broken we cannot win Cook County in 1984."

Jackson wants to "heal wounds," save the Democratic Party. This is why he's taking it easy with Mondale and Hart, why he's willing to let bygones be bygones, why he's never challenged union support to them in a single union local. He's planning to throw his votes to one candidate or another.

But is this what the union members and other workers voting for Jackson want? Is this what they should settle for? We don't think so.

The Democratic Party is an anti-labor and racist party. Union members and locals must take up a fight to stop all support to this dying party and build a Labor Party based on the unions, with its own program, its own leadership, its own organization, its own press, and its own candidate for president. If union members and locals allow the union bureaucracy to continue to pour the unions' resources into this anti-labor party, it will isolate the labor movement and pave the way for one defeat after another.

In the course of the same debate in Chicago both Mondale and Jackson said they supported Congress's plan for Chrysler. What neither of these "labor" or "Black" candidates mentioned was that Congress tore up the Chrysler workers' contract. It said: "Make concessions, that is, take wage cuts, or Congress will let Chrysler close down." Now Chrysler has paid back the money it owes everybody . . . but the workers. And thousands of workers still lost their jobs. That's the great Chrysler success story that Mondale and Jackson support.

And Mondale is fully prepared to carry on this great tradition. When a reporter asked him if he regretted labor's endorsement he said: "Not a bit. I'm my own man. As president of the United States I'll lead this country and say no to labor if necessary . . ."

And unlike much of what Mondale and other Democratic Party hacks say, this is not just talk. Mondale and the rest of the Democratic Party have collaborated in attempting to break one strike after another, from the miners' strike under Carter in 1977, to PATCO, Greyhound, and the copper miners today. The UAW bureaucracy put out a special, 24-page issue of *Solidarity*, the union magazine, in support of Mondale. But with all its resources it could only find one striking union that it could even claim that Mondale had helped — the Grain Millers in Minnesota in 1979.

Thus, the unions are pouring time and money into a party that is turning people against unions, breaking strikes and even busting the unions themselves. We don't need to heal this party's wounds, as Jackson says. We need to give it a death blow and send it to its grave!

Stop all union support to the Democratic Party now! Build a Labor Party Coalition with a Labor Candidate for president!

Get Back Concessions with a Labor Party!

UAW members and locals submitted over six hundred resolutions to the UAW Bargaining Convention, many of which concerned getting back concessions — wages, benefits and other gains given up in the last contract.

Presidents of six different locals formed a caucus, called a press conference and publicized demands to get back concessions — "Restore and More in '84" (RAM). And hundreds of workers even marched outside the Bargaining Convention to voice these demands.

But UAW president Owen Bieber, in his opening address to the convention, directed the convention completely against this struggle brewing in the UAW to get back concessions, in favor of the pro-concessions Democratic Party and Walter Mondale. And not one delegate took the floor to denounce Bieber's speech and defend the workers' demands.

UAW members who want to get back concessions must build an alternative to the pro-concessions, pro-Democratic Party leadership of the UAW, a Labor Party Coalition with a Labor Candidate for president. And this fight must begin now with a fight to form Labor Party slates for local union elections.

The current leadership will never wage a struggle to get back concessions because it is pledged to the pro-concessions Democratic Party. It will be lucky if it doesn't lose its shirt at the bargaining table.

In his speech to the Bargaining Convention, Bieber described the anti-labor offensive taking place in this country at length — high unemployment, PATCO, Greyhound, Phelps Dodge, etc.

He basically argued that even though com-

pany profits are high, high unemployment and widespread strikebreaking make getting back concessions impossible. Workers must settle for limited gains in job security and in getting a "fair share" of the profits.

" . . . I believe that the realities we see as we look about us dictate the top priority goal for collective bargaining ahead — that is, increased job security. We must make safe those jobs we have today and find ways to create more jobs . . ."

And even the key to this limited goal — increasing job security — is electing Democratic Party boss Walter Mondale. Bieber considers the fight for the few contract demands he does list — restrictions on overtime, work time, automation, outsourcing, etc. — purely secondary.

"Mondale would work to keep our basic industries and all of the hundreds of thousands of jobs that go with them.

" . . . success at the bargaining table this year and in the future — as always — depends in great measure on our success in the political arena. So, let us keep our tasks in perspective."

But Bieber's perspective is a lie from start to finish.

High unemployment and widespread strikebreaking don't make militant union struggle impossible; they make it necessary.

And if the UAW focuses on "increasing job security" for its own members, rather than on getting back concessions, and recalling the thousands of laid-off workers, it's going to isolate itself from the thousands of laid off and unemployed workers and make itself even more vulnerable to strikebreaking and union

busting than it already is.

What is more, electing Democratic Party boss Walter Mondale president is going to exacerbate, not solve, all these problems. Bieber ticked off Reagan's crimes against the working class, but he didn't mention the Democrats' crimes, particularly Carter's and Mondale's.

As we said elsewhere, it was the Democratic Party, particularly Carter and Mondale, that blackmailed the Chrysler workers into accepting concessions in the first place. They said: "You take wage cuts or we won't guarantee Chrysler's loans, it will go bankrupt, and you will lose your jobs." And one company after another has gone to its employees and said the same thing.

The Democratic Party and Carter and Mondale opened the anti-labor offensive that Reagan is now presiding over and that Bieber described. Carter and Mondale laid the plans to crush PATCO. That's why PATCO endorsed Reagan. It foolishly thought that he would be different. Democratic Party mayors and governors sent the police and the troops that broke the Greyhound strike and that are still trying to break the Phelps Dodge strike. And not one Democratic Party Congressman has lifted a finger to defend striking workers against Reagan.

Bieber's campaign for this party in the name of defending the labor movement is nothing short of criminal.

The only way the UAW can get job security is to take the offensive against the corporations and their government with a Labor Party and a Labor Candidate that fights for the workers' demands — get back concessions, recall all laid off workers, divide work among all workers, a national auto strike. If it does this every working class man, woman and child will come to its side just as they did in the great battles in which the UAW was founded. If it doesn't, it will be crushed.

The Trotskyist Organization calls on all UAW members and tendencies that want to make this fight to join it in building a Labor Party Coalition inside the UAW, with a Labor Candidate for US president, and Labor Party slates for local union offices.

The silence at the UAW Bargaining Convention following Bieber's attack on the struggle to get back concessions and shameless propaganda for the pro-concessions, strikebreaking, union-busting Democratic Party, shows that no one else is going to do it for them. Further delay will only strengthen Bieber's hand. M.G.

Labor Party Slates for Local Union Elections!

1. Down with the Parties of Concessions — Republicans and Democrats! Labor Party; Labor Candidates!
2. Get Back Concessions; Recall Laid Off Workers; Divide Work Among All Workers!
3. Strike All Three; Prepare now; Organize the Unorganized!

What You Can Do

1. Subscribe to Truth.
2. Circulate petitions to put a Labor Party Coalition on the November ballot.
3. Build a Labor Party Slate in your local. Call 841-6154 or write Truth for more information.

Building the Labor Party Coalition

March 6-8 the Special Bargaining Convention of the UAW was held in Detroit. The Trotskyist Organization was there to fight for a Labor Party. Nearly 2,000 auto workers demonstrated outside the Convention with signs demanding, "Restore and More," "No Forced Overtime," and "Recall All Laid-off Workers." The headline of *Truth* answered these demands on its front page — "Put the Labor Party Coalition on the ballot in Michigan!"

More than 20,000 signatures are required to get on the ballot in Michigan as a new political party. In recent weeks the petition campaign to put the Labor Party Coalition on the ballot has begun to involve youth and workers in Detroit who are new to this kind of activity.

On March 10, a workshop was held at Wayne State University to go over the procedure for obtaining signatures. Present at the workshop, and later in a neighborhood canvassing for signatures, were four high school students who were new to the campaign. First, a presentation was given by Kevin FitzPatrick over the importance of the fight for a Labor Party. Then, after a question and answer period, the actual mechanics of the campaign were covered.

In addition, two autoworkers from the Jefferson Avenue Chrysler Plant and the Sterling Heights Chrysler Stamping Plant have taken petitions into their plants to circulate. There is also work being done toward the local elections at the Jefferson Avenue plant to put together a Labor Party Slate.

A Jefferson worker who is involved in the Coalition told an interesting story. It seems that one day he and a fellow worker were walking into work when they were stopped by a news reporter from one of the local TV stations. This was just after Gary Hart had won the New Hampshire primary. The reporter asked, "Who do you support in the elections?" He answered, "I want a labor candidate, and a Labor Party." His friend said he was for Mondale. Later that night on television he saw his friend on TV, but his own response for a Labor Party had been edited out. So much for the "objectivity" of the bourgeois media!

These advances are important, but even more it is necessary that organizations say that they are for a Labor Party — it is time for them to "put their money where their mouth is." So far several trade union organizations have been contacted, including Restore and More (RAM)

of the UAW. While we have not yet received a response from them, we will do so, and will print it in *Truth*.

Two meetings were attended by TO militants to state this message. On February 17, at a forum on Black Liberation, the audience was addressed by Barbara Putnam who called for a united front to put labor candidates and the Labor Party Coalition on the ballot. In particular, the Revolutionary Workers League was pressed at this meeting to answer why they refuse to carry out an electoral resolution that they voted for at the Emergency National Trotskyist Conference (ENTC). Typically, they replied that they were still trying to figure out an answer to that question. (While they promised a reply by March 1, that deadline has also passed).

A meeting of the SWP was also attended by TO militants. We plan to follow up with another formal proposal to the SWP in Michigan for a common struggle for a Labor Party.

Basing ourselves on the results obtained thus far in the auto factories and in working class neighborhoods, we intend to expand our fight to involve other workers' organizations. D.M.

THE GLOBAL CONFLICT

Dominic McGlinchey

On (ironically) March 17, Dominic McGlinchey, the chief of staff of the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA), was captured (along with three companions) by an "anti-terrorist" task force — of forty cops! — near Newmarket-on-Fergus in County Clare.

The INLA, as its name implies, is a petty bourgeois nationalist guerrilla organization, which claims to be more "left" than the better-known Irish Republican Army (IRA). In any event, we are not in accord with its political view or policies.

Nonetheless, everyone must defend this fighter against British rule in Ireland on the grounds that, whatever our differences on *how* to defeat imperialism, we unhesitatingly take the side of those who oppose it in any conflict between the two.

This is made all the clearer by the fact that McGlinchey was hunted down and captured by the police of the so-called Republic of Ireland, which claims to represent the portion of Ireland independent of Britain.

Heeding its master's voice (British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland James Prior said that he had "every reason to believe" that McGlinchey would be extradited to British-ruled "Northern Ireland"), this capitalist regime immediately — midnight of the same day! — handed him over. And it used 200 troops and stuck him in an armored vehicle to make sure that he got there!

McGlinchey is in the hands of the British torturers, Gerry Adams of Sinn Fein (political arm of the IRA) barely survives an assassination attempt, but Irish Republic Prime Minister Garret Fitzgerald hobnobs with Reagan, and tells Americans not to give money to the "men of violence" in Ireland. But the only way to do that would be to end military aid and alliances with Britain.

Iran-Iraq War

When Iraq attacked Iran in September 1980, we characterized this war as a counterrevolutionary assault on the Iranian Revolution on behalf of imperialism. Therefore, we called for the defense of Iran in the war and for its victory.

Iran was rapidly able to clear almost all its territory of Iraqi troops. The war then entered a military stalemate, which goes on today at the cost of truly massive casualties, atrocities (and atrocity stories) of chemical warfare, child soldiers, etc.

At the time that the war entered this stalemate, the Fourth International — basing itself on the fact that the Khomeini regime was using the war emergency to crush the independent struggles of the workers and the oppressed — said that the defensive and progressive character of the war had ended, and that the task now was the overthrow of the Khomeini regime.

This position is today even more valid. *No good* can be served by the victory of the "Islamic Republic" over the reactionary Ba'athist regime of Saddam Hussein. It would mean only the imposition of the same bourgeois-theocratic terror that reigns today in Iran, intensified by the fact that it would take the shape of foreign oppression. Khomeini long ago crushed the opposition Mojahedin, and is now mopping up the Stalinists of the Tudeh and the HKE Pabloites. Such an event could only delay the victory of the socialist revolution in both Iraq and Iran.

Without any exaggeration, the slogan of the day must be: "Turn the guns around; the enemy is at home!"

Only this policy of independence from the schemes of the national bourgeoisie can lead to the triumph of the masses, and deal a final blow to imperialism's maneuvers in the region.

The "Gnomes of Budapest"

The Stalinist regime in Hungary has opened the Hungarian National Savings Bank (OTP) for secret, tax-free and high-interest deposits from abroad — like the famous numbered accounts of Switzerland. The Kadar regime has long had the most advanced "economic reform," but this step marks a new stage in the penetration (virtual solicitation) of imperialist capital into the remaining socialist conquests.

School Prayer: Right Wing Scheme

The Trotskyist Organization totally opposes Reagan's attempt to reintroduce prayer into the public schools.

Some people say that this is not really a religious issue, but a political one. Since most of the big churches are against this attempt and even Jesus can be quoted on praying in private, it is really only a ploy by Reagan to please his right wing supporters in the "Moral Majority," and so on.

But such an idea really misses the point: the political question *is* religion.

As Marxists, we are dialectical materialists and thus, as Trotsky put it, "irreconcilable atheists." But this question is not at all confined to a philosophical discussion on "spirit" vs. matter.

First of all, as Marx was fond of quoting: "Religion is the opium of the masses." At the same time young people are subjected to an immense flood of drugs. Reagan starts pushing the most dangerous narcotic of all, religious dope! And both for the same reasons, because they deprive you of the ability to think and to fight, because they leave you a passive mess

that is completely separated from the real world. As Joe Hill wrote, religion teaches you to look for "pie in the sky," not the end of hunger on earth.

It is for this same reason that *organized religion* — the different churches — is at the center of all the most reactionary movements. The Catholic Church, the Orthodox Jews and the screaming bible-belters are in an unholy alliance to attack the right of women to get abortions. You may remember that when Reagan tried to restore tax-exempt status to a racist school (Bob Jones University), it was precisely a school that was religious and that justified its racism on the grounds that it was prescribed by the bible. And the head of this same school is not only in the lead of the howling "right-to-life" zealots, but is also one of the chief supporters of school prayer.

This same nature of religion is at work all over the world. The Catholic Church, from Nicaragua to Poland, is the biggest enemy of the revolution. Khomeini tries to crush the working class in his *Islamic Republic*, and calls his thugs the "party of god." Ian Paisley, who

uses religious fanaticism in Northern Ireland to stupefy Protestant workers into supporting British imperialism, is a regular visitor to good old Bob Jones University and is a favorite of the viciously right wing John Birch Society. The list could be extended almost endlessly (Israel).

The American working class is predominantly religious. This is a key element of its backwardness, of the fact that it is still tied to the parties of the capitalist ruling class. Now, when a deep drive is stirring to end this political subordination by building a Labor Party, Reagan tries to head off this development by appealing to ignorance and superstition, to the most backward side of American workers. Just as with abortion (where the weakness is the oppression of women), the capitalists are trying to exploit this opening to sow division and confusion in the workers' ranks.

Turning back this attack, defeating school prayer, is a key element of the political maturation of the American workers. K.F.

Poland: Cross or Double Cross

The role played by the Catholic Church in Poland is not understood by most people, and it is deliberately confused by others. At the present time, there are two controversial aspects to this role.

One is the decision by Cardinal Glomp to remove pro-Solidarnosc priests from churches with large working class congregations, and essentially banish them to the sticks. Everyone agrees that this is being done in accord with the Jaruzelski regime, part of a deal with it.

The second is the series of protests in Mietne (Mietnow) and Garwolin (and now echoed elsewhere) by students upset over the removal of crucifixes from the walls of their school.

In the first case, Glomp's action has met with sharp opposition from the workers in the affected parishes. This includes even sit-ins to protest the action.

In the second, things seemed turned around. It appears to reflect the continued domination of the Church over Poles, and a willingness by the Church to use this influence to try to attack the government.

The thing that no one talks about is the trials of the militants of the ex-KOR/KSS (the "dissident" oppositionists) and the seven members of the National Commission of Solidarnosc. But it is in fact in the context of these trials — which are postponed almost from day to day; awaiting what? — that the other events acquire coherence.

Everyone has been troubled by the treacherous role the Church has played in the past — 1956, 1970, 1976, as well as the period after August 1980.

The key task the Church has now is to isolate the militants, to discredit the "extremists." It is, in short, to create a climate in which the trials can go forward, with the effects the bureaucracy hopes they will *then* have on the movement.

But now the Church finds the troubled grumbings of the past replaced with militant opposition, thus hindering the good work the hierarchy has undertaken.

In this predicament, the *provocation* over the crucifixes (which have been in schools since 1924 and Pilsudski's regime — including throughout the entire period of Stalinist rule in Poland) in an isolated and more backward area, comes as what we might call a godsend to the Catholic Church.

A free demonstration of the "religious" nature of the Polish workers' movement (good

for both domestic and international consumption) and, at the same time, an opportunity to engage in a confrontation with the government over nothing. The crucifixes can go or stay, but that will in no way change anything in Poland. In this way, without any cost, the Church can hope to recover at least some of prestige it is losing on the other front — indeed, perhaps even apply it there directly.

We know that at this moment, the Kremlin is engaged in a new international campaign against Solidarnosc (see the last issue of *Truth*), including even denunciations in the newspaper of Herri Batasuna, the political arm of the Basque ETA in Spain.

Thus, it is by no means out of the question that the whole "war of the crosses" has been completely cooked up between Glomp and Jaruzelski. It is not excluded that it may have been intended as a pressure on the regime by the ultra-Stalinist group of Olzowski and Grabski (if so, it has escaped their control). At the very least, it is a question of an isolated incident's being eagerly seized upon for nefarious purposes.

The defense of the militants facing trial (the political significance of which the Fourth International has drawn out) remains the key question. Defeating this attack on Solidarnosc is the best blow to both the Church and the Kremlin. K.F.

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An Open Trotskyist Congress to Rebuild the US Section of the 4th International

A significant number of young people have begun to turn to Trotskyism as the only tendency capable of guiding the working and oppressed masses.

Yet there are several organizations that claim to be Trotskyist. Each has its own policy that it calls Trotskyist. And the largest of these, the Socialist Workers Party, appears to be the far-

thest from basic Trotskyist principles.

The Trotskyist Organization of the USA, Section (Sympathizing) of the Fourth International, was founded in 1975 to overcome this problem, to lead a struggle to clearly differentiate Trotskyism from various centrist or intermediary tendencies that masquerade under its name; to train

a new generation of revolutionaries capable of guiding the American working class in the foundation of its own party and the fight for power, in other words, to rebuild the US Section of the Fourth International.

We call on youth turning toward Trotskyism, as well as youth and workers fighting for a Labor

Party, to join us in this struggle, in particular, in preparing and building an open Trotskyist Congress to bring the struggle to a successful conclusion. This page is especially dedicated to this struggle. It is open to any militant or tendency that wants to contribute to it.

Did the IC Build a Better Movement?

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

When we say that the International Committee (IC) did indeed "build a better movement," this is not just a question of actions or numbers (as important as these are), but of a profound political understanding.

Crisis of the Fourth International

"Our programmatic basis, which was essentially constituted by the first four Congresses of the Communist International and by Trotsky's work on Stalinist centrism, corresponds to a political experience, to a level of revolutionary struggles in the world that are, today, completely changed."

So wrote the long-time French Trotskyist David Rousset as early as *October 1945*. Already, because of the pressures of Stalinism — due to the Red Army's role in the war and to due the Stalinist-capitalist repression that took the lives of a whole layer of experienced Trotskyist cadre — the crisis of the Fourth International had begun.

Thus, Rousset proposed to establish "in place of the International, world party of the revolution, international combinations, very broad in regard to platforms presented and, therefore, naturally very loose in their organizational conceptions." Particularly because "you cannot step over the body of Stalinism in order to realize the socialist revolution."

(K.F. translation of citations in *Quelques Enseignements de Notre Histoire* [Some Lessons From Our History] published by the OCI, May 1970.)

Here we see foreshadowed the essential element of Pabloism, from Pablo's own "new world reality" and "entrism *sui generis*" to Mandel's "new mass vanguard," winding up today in Barnes' "new International."

James P. Cannon described that nature in a 1953 speech ("Factional Struggle and Party Leadership") in words that have a startling relevance today: "The essence of Pabloist revisionism is the overthrow of that part of Trotskyism which is today its most vital part — the conception of the crisis of mankind as the crisis of the leadership of the labor movement summed up in the question of the party."

"Pabloism aims not only to overthrow Trotskyism; it aims to overthrow that part of Trotskyism which Trotsky learned from Lenin . . ."

"That is written into the Transition Program, that Leninist concept of the decisive role of the revolutionary party. And that is what the Pabloites are throwing overboard in favor of the conception that the ideas will somehow filter into the treacherous bureaucracy, the Stalinists or reformists, and in some way or another, 'In the Day of the Comet,' the socialist revolution will be realized and carried through to conclusion without a revolutionary Marxist, that is, a Leninist-Trotskyist party. That is the essence of Pabloism. Pabloism is the substitution of a cult and a revelation for a party and a program."

The struggle against Pabloism, the fight to maintain and build the Fourth International in order to build that revolutionary leadership, is the *fundamental* attribute of the IC.

The Early IC

The struggle of the French Trotskyists against Pablo's attempt to liquidate the section into the French CP *began*, and the break organized around the issuance of the "Open Letter to Trotskyists Throughout the World" in 1953 by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) *concluded*, this first stage. It brought to an abrupt halt Pablo's attempt to pass over openly to Stalinism, a course followed soon afterward by his closest collaborators (Michele Mestre in France, John Lawrence in England, George Clark in the US).

The foundation of the IC did not in itself overcome the crisis of the Fourth International. It did, however, make such a fight possible.

This can be seen around the question of the Algerian Revolution. The Pabloites backed Ahmed Ben Bella's FLN (National Liberation Front), which would become the government — in which Pablo himself took a place — of Algeria, while the French Trotskyists supported the MNA (Algerian National Movement) headed by Lessali Hadj. Do we have symmetrical errors here?

By 1958, the French Trotskyists (and the IC) could make fundamental correction that was expressed in this way: "The MNA, which was not considered by the Trotskyists as a party of



the Bolshevik type, but as a party whose program partially took up the elements of the revolutionary program, would, according to the views of the Trotskyists at that time, through a series of mutations and internal crises, and under the impact of Marxist intervention, transform itself into a party of such a type. The error in method was complete . . .

"It was *totally false* to abandon the struggle within the MNA for the selection of a Marxist vanguard, of a Trotskyist fraction.

"But the theoretical roots of the error must be sought more deeply. They are situated in a non-assimilation of the permanent revolution."

(K.F. trans. *Quelques Enseignements* . . . emphasis in original).

But the Pabloites made no such struggle, carried out no such clarification. Within the IC, the SWP and others looking to it (Peng, Moreno) likewise did not take part in this struggle to recapture the acquisitions of the Fourth International. Instead, in the very document that marked the so-called reunification of 1963 (*Dynamics of World Revolution Today*), the new United Secretariat (the SWP forces and the old Pabloites) codified revisionism.

The Pabloites Persist

Thus we read: "The weakness of the enemy in the backward countries has opened the possibility of coming to power even with a blunted instrument." This is hardly surprising because "continual masas movements have drawn one backward country after another into the process of permanent revolution." Logically enough, on this basis, we are informed that: "In the form of expanding guerrilla forces, the peasantry has undoubtedly played a much more radical and decisive role in the colonial revolution than was forecast in Marxist theory." And, finally, all these events "introduced a most powerful disintegrating element into international Stalinism, favoring the development of a revolutionary left wing," and thus, naturally, "the colonial revolution . . . will not lead directly to the overthrow of capitalism in the imperialist centers, but it will play a powerful role in building a new world revolutionary leadership as is already clear from the emergence of the Castroist current."

Every essential element of Doug Jenness' open repudiation of Trotskyism ("Our Political Continuity with Bolshevism"; *ISR/Militant*; June 25, 1982) is already present in the reunification document. All he had to do was remove the "Trotskyist" phrases.

The concrete focus of this revision was of course the adaptation to Castroism. This same document approvingly notes: "As I.F. Stone, the astute American radical journalist, observed after a trip to Cuba, the revolutionists there are 'unconscious' Trotskyists."

The indirect pressure of Stalinism, reflected in these adaptations on permanent revolution, would become direct precisely around the question of Castroism.

This is the way in which the International Secretariat of the Fourth International has described the post-war expropriations in Eastern Europe: "For three years — from 1945 to 1948

— the bureaucracy had to wage a bitter struggle, political and police, against the mass movement that attacked the capitalist property relations that the 'People's Democracies' were supposed to maintain . . .

"At the conclusion of this struggle, the bureaucracy was *not able to do anything else* but expropriate capital, while politically expropriating the proletariat from power that was rightfully its. In other words, the bureaucracy, which draws its power from the usurpation of the socialist conquests of October, was able to maintain its domination in face of this revolutionary wave that it could not succeed in shattering in Eastern Europe, only by extending, in its own way, these socialist conquests and going well beyond its own intentions. But this, which only the bureaucracy — and no other regime in the world — could accomplish, because it sinks its roots in the workers state, in no way modifies the *fundamentally counterrevolutionary character* of the parasitical Stalinist caste."

The Meaning of Castroism

The only difference Cuba presents from this description is that the petty bourgeois bonapartist Fidel Castro, to preserve his own position (unlike Ben Bella, who was overthrown), could and would become the creature of the bureaucracy.

"Pabloism aims not only to overthrow Trotskyism; it aims to overthrow that part of Trotskyism which Trotsky learned from Lenin . . ."

"That is written into the Transition Program, that Leninist concept of the decisive role of the revolutionary party."

"Pabloism is the substitution of a cult and a revelation for a party and a program."

James P. Cannon

For over twenty years the Pabloites have been trying to conceal the fact that the real discussion over Cuba was over this question of *Castroism vs. Trotskyism*. The incorrect position of the IC forces on the class nature of the Cuban state was an error that could be — and has been — overcome *on the basis of the fight waged then*. But the position of the late SWP leader Joseph Hansen and friends has led directly to the present positions of Barnes.

In order to obscure the real issue, Hansen waged a dishonest polemic against the fight of the Socialist Labour League (SLL; British IC group, led by Gerry Healy) to defend Cuba at that time. When Hansen must admit something — "The top headline in the October 27 issue [of *The Newsletter*, the SLL's paper — K.F. note] was awarded to Cuba. 'SAY NO TO YANKEE WAR' — he immediately tries to dismiss it with some "witty" piece of irrelevant abuse: "A map even was printed on the front page showing that there is an island Cuba and that it lies off the tip of Florida and between the Bahamas and Jamaica, which are of special interest to British readers."

("The proof of the pudding," in Hansen's *Cuba: The Acid Test*.)

*Hansen had to use such cheap demagoguery in order to obscure the real issue: defense of the Cuban Revolution by building the Fourth International or by capitulation to Castroism?

When Barnes has to continue defending this same capitulation today, he likewise accuses everyone of not defending Nicaragua, El Salvador, Grenada, etc., etc.

The capitulation to Castroism was and has been an aspect of, and means for, capitulation to Stalinism.

At the same reunification conference of 1963, another resolution (*The Sino-Soviet Conflict and the Situation in the USSR and the Other Workers States*) adopted clearly revealed this. In a mass of impressionistic commentary, this phrase suddenly appears: "The Fourth International does not hide the fact that its strategic aim in the USSR and the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe remains the anti-bureaucratic revolution."

Alas, it is all too well hidden, since *that is the*

sole (even obscure) reference to political revolution in the whole thing.

In contrast, however, we learn that: "Within the framework of the world Communist movement, the Fourth International reaffirms its critical support to the Chinese Communists" (emphasis added, K.F.); likewise: "The Fourth International supports the need for an international conference of the Communist movement . . . The Fourth International should have the opportunity to participate in such a conference."

The "new International" is already getting very long in the tooth.

In tune with the openly Pabloite resolution of 1954 — (*Rise and Decline of Stalinism*), which stated in regard to China and Yugoslavia: "We do not call upon the proletariat of these countries to constitute new political parties or to prepare a political revolution." — the reunification resolution speaks vaguely (for China, and in similar terms for Yugoslavia) of: ". . . an anti-bureaucratic struggle on a scale massive enough to bring about a qualitative change in the political form of government."

That is, the old nostrum of the "self-reform of the bureaucracy" under the pressure of the masses.

Trotskyism or Stalinism?

On the other hand, the IC was able to develop the fight for the political revolution, in both theoretical and practical terms. Basing itself upon the Hungarian Revolution of the Workers Councils, it was able to constitute — at the same time that the Pabloite reunification was being arranged — the League of Hungarian Revolutionary Socialists, headed by Balasz Nagy (known as Michel Varga), one of the former secretaries of the famous Petofi Club.

And following the "Prague Spring" of 1968 (while Hansen was trying to cover up Castro's support for crushing it), the IC was able to constitute (in 1970) the Organizing Committee of the Communists of Eastern Europe. Through its efforts, for example, the tapes of the confrontation between Gierk and the Szczecin strikers were brought out of Poland.

These were not merely organizational gains. They also represented recovering the broken link with the workers of Eastern Europe, establishing in terms of the party the unity of the political and social revolutions.

The advances of the IC made in its struggle to build the party had numerous other manifestations. The struggle to root the party among the youth, taking shape in the fight to build a Revolutionary Youth International, was marked by a series of large, open actions — Liege, Scarborough, Le Bourget, Essen.

The IC was therefore able, in complete contrast to the Pabloites, to achieve a significant implantation in the working class, especially in Britain, France (and with the adherence of Guillermo Lora's POR) in Bolivia. This meant that in May-June 1968 it was militants of the IC (OCI) at Sud-Aviation in Nantes, who on May 14 sparked the general strike in France.

All these steps forward were directed toward the rebuilding of the Fourth International, as posed by the 1966 Third Conference of the IC (which Hansen likewise, with help from "Spartacist," tried to dismiss). Thus, a whole new stage in the crisis of the FI had been reached, the stage of *resolving that crisis*.

Each drastic turn in the life of the party provokes a sharp internal struggle. At this crucial juncture, both of the "historic chiefs" — first Healy (1971), then Pierre Lambert (1972) — of the IC turned their back on its fight. But, as always, forces arose within the party to continue and develop its gains. In fact, it was not accidental that the leaders of the revolutionary elements came precisely from the East European comrades that the IC had won. (Thus, Lambert's slander campaign against Michel Varga epitomized his repudiation of his own past struggle.)

This new advance found expression in the founding of the Trotskyist Organization/USA in 1975 and culminated in the 1976 rebuilding of the Fourth International.

The long and difficult struggle of the IC to recover the ground lost by Pabloism, to "link up with Bolshevism," was a success. That means that today, as Barnes tries to liquidate the heritage of American Trotskyism, all the lessons of the Fourth International are available to defeat this pro-Stalinist betrayal.

An Alternative to Divisive USW Leadership!

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

If the United States Steel Corporation had a free hand to destroy the United Steel Workers union, it couldn't do a better job than the candidates for USW president and their anti-import campaign are doing today.

US Steel laid off 15,000 workers, the entire industry has announced plans for mergers and investments that will further drastically reduce the work force, and management is imposing job combinations and eliminations in one local after another.

Yet acting president Lynn Williams is calling on Canadian workers to vote for him because he's Canadian. And Secretary Treasurer Frank McKee is calling on American workers to vote for him because he's American!

"Lynn cannot divorce himself from the two-and-a-half million tons of Canadian steel that enters the American market every year," says Mike Drapkin, a McKee campaigner.

"Where will Lynn stand on an import restraint program? Will he go before Congress and say, 'On behalf of my American members I want one thing and on behalf of my Canadian members I want something else'?"

This is precisely the kind of fratricidal war that we said this leadership and its anti-imports policy would lead to. Yet none of the opposition tendencies and forces within the USW are leading a struggle to build an alternative to this leadership and its divisive policies.

USW members must build such an alternative — a Labor Party Coalition, a Labor Candidate, and Labor Party slates for local union offices — to unite Canadian and American workers, against restructuring of the steel industry, for workers control of industry.

Ron Weisen claimed to be against the old USW leadership and its policies. But he's pro-Democratic Party and anti-imports and he hasn't lifted a finger to stop shutdowns or defend the striking copper workers, any more than Williams and McKee have.

And now that he's been unable to get the support he needs to get on the ballot, he's doing virtually nothing but challenging the bureaucracy's ruling.

The Socialist Workers Party recently held a conference of its members and supporters active in the USW. This conference documented the steel companies' attacks on the workers and the workers' growing disgust

with the USW leadership's policy, as well as their search for an alternative.

Yet SWP reporter Geoff Mirelowitz complained: "We see no motion yet toward the development of a class struggle leadership prepared to organize the necessary battle against the employers and their government . . . the overwhelming mass of steelworkers do not yet see any alternative to the pro-capitalist policies of the officialdom."

Of course the workers see no alternative. They see no alternative because *there is no alternative in the USW*. It has to be built.

Anti-Import Campaign Destroys Jobs

For years American trade union leaderships have advocated anti-import legislation to protect American workers' jobs. And Trotskyists have always opposed this policy on principled grounds.

It renders the workers dependent on the fortunes of the companies. It alleges if they do well, the workers do; if they don't, too bad. It undermines the solidarity of the unions by focusing on products produced by workers of other nationalities as the problem, rather than the profit-hungry capitalists themselves.

Now events are bearing this out. The steel industry is using the profits it reaped through anti-import legislation to "restructure the industry" — merge, buy up and close-out smaller companies, and automate. In other words, it is using profits to *eliminate jobs*. And in the most

But the SWP conference did not devote itself to building such an alternative. Instead it argued that this was impossible.

"Socialists cannot determine the pace of such events, just as on their own, radical-minded workers were not able to initiate the big labor struggles of the 1930s."

" . . . By their own action, for instance, revolutionary workers cannot reverse union policy in the copper strike."

But these are fraudulent arguments. It was precisely radical and revolutionary workers

recent issue of *Solidarity*, the UAW magazine, the UAW bureaucracy complains that the auto industry is doing the same thing. "In 1982 and 1983, business actually cut productive investments, using its windfalls to buy up competitors, etc."

But the UAW bureaucracy has learned nothing from this. Bieber still put anti-import or domestic content legislation at the top of his list at the UAW Bargaining Convention. This is at the UAW Bargaining Convention. This is only going to help the auto companies do away with auto workers jobs.

Union members must put a stop to this now! Stop union support to anti-import legislation! No more giveaways to big business! M.G.

French and British Strike Against Government

British coal miners, following on the heels of a series of sympathy strikes by public workers, have staged their first national strike since 1973. That date has great significance today, because the miners' strike a decade ago led to the fall of the Conservative government of Prime Minister Edward Heath, and now the British workers are up against the Conservative Margaret Thatcher.

Solidarity strikes of public workers began to develop in late February after the government demanded that workers at Government Communications Headquarters at Cheltenham either quit their union or be fired. Many thousands of civil servants and municipal workers

participated in the sympathy strikes.

These actions began to break up the collaboration of the trade union movement and the Labor Party with Thatcher's government. For example, Labor Party delegates in the House of Commons were instructed to abstain on the Government's plan when it came to a vote (several did not and were disciplined for it).

Far more critical, however, is the miners' strike whose actions more than once have been the backbone of the British working class. The striking contrast between the miners' stance in 1973-74 at the head of a working class offensive to bring down the Conservative government of Heath, and their refusal to approve strike votes

who initiated and led the big struggles in the thirties by organizing the masses of workers against the old leadership's policies, particularly craft unionism. If revolutionary workers cannot change union policy today, by organizing the masses of workers against it, who can?

These arguments are nothing but excuses for passivity and capitulation, for leaving the union in the hands of the divisive and destructive leadership it has today.

Instead of building an alternative to this leadership, the SWP conference calls for supporting Weisen and recruiting workers to socialism in ones and twos. But how is this going to stop the shutdowns and the destruction of the union? How are workers going to mount a fight against it without an alternative to the present USW leadership?

The SWP conference had no answer to these questions.

Now is the time to break not only with the pro-Democratic Party and divisive leadership of the USW, but also with passive acceptance of it.

The Trotskyist Organization calls on our fellow workers in the USW, especially the SWP, to join us in a fight to build a Labor Party Coalition in the USW, with a Labor Candidate for president, with Labor Party slates for local elections.

This is the only way to prepare the convention coming in September, to make it a convention that turns the USW around.

three times until the recent vote, is entirely due to their mistrust of the reformist leadership of the Labor Party and the Miners Union itself.

Thatcher's government is attempting to close more than twenty mines and to lay off up to 180,000 miners according to an article in the March 13 *New York Times*. If the miners are going to achieve victory they will have to confront Thatcher's government directly. The tactic of "flying pickets" that made their strike so successful in 1973-74, has been made illegal by the Thatcher government.

The British workers are not alone in their attempt to break the collaboration of labor leaders with bourgeois governments. But while in Britain, the Conservatives are in power, in France the Social Democratic government of Mitterrand is serving the capitalist's dish of "austerity" to the working class. A militant opposition to Mitterrand that has a sound working class base has emerged in France.

A one day strike of up to five million public workers practically shut down France. More than one fourth of France's total work force took part in the strike to fight Mitterrand's austerity plan. The plan drops automatic cost-of-living increases and freezes public workers' wages until next year. Unemployment is already pegged at 8.25% in France and can be expected to rise under Mitterrand's austerity plan.

The section of the Fourth International in France, the Revolutionary Workers League (LOR) has fought to centralize the French workers' actions with the call for a General Strike and for the formation of a Workers Opposition to Mitterrand. The actions of French workers, as well as those in Britain, shows that this fundamental policy has a sound basis in the class struggle throughout Europe.

D.M.

El Salvador: Solidarity with Striking Workers

By DAVID MARK

A wave of strike activity has spread across El Salvador only days before the rigged March 25 national elections are to be held. (As *Truth* goes to press the results of these elections are not known.) The strike activity has been completely absent from newspapers in the United States.

These strikes, taken together with other important developments, show a deep maturation of the working class's struggle and thus, a maturation of the revolution in its entirety in Central America.

A series of walkouts began in late February. On February 24, foundry workers at San Salvador's Sarti steel plant went on strike and, at about the same time, protests began developing among El Salvador's government workers. Despite an annual inflation rate of almost 40% the government has frozen paychecks for the last four years. Some workers reportedly have not received a pay hike in ten years.

As of March 10 more than 10,000 Salvadoran workers were on strike. On March 6 a two-hour sympathy strike was organized by some twenty unions involving up to 30,000 workers. The National Teachers union is demanding a 50% wage increase or it threatens to strike. In addition there have been protests by textile workers against corruption by plant management in the provincial capital of San Miguel.

The strikes are taking place under fierce repression from the US-backed thugs in power in El Salvador. The military has already taken over several plants and offices that were occupied by workers — including the Institute for Regulation of Distribution, the Institute of Social Security, and the national waterworks. Threats and attacks against union leaders, workers, and their families are being organized by right-wing death squads (Secret Anti-Communist Army).

There are other developments throughout Central America that indicate a growing presence of the working class in the revolutionary process. In Guatemala, workers of the Coca Cola plant in Guatemala City are staging a plant occupation after the US-owned plant threatened to close its doors permanently.

The plant has a very militant history and was the scene of a decade-long labor struggle in the late seventies where more than ten workers

were killed or "disappeared." The repression against trade unions in Guatemala is even fiercer than in El Salvador. According to the National Committee for Trade Union Unity, more than 14 labor leaders and labor lawyers have been murdered since November of '83 in Guatemala. Most trade unions have either been silenced completely, or forced underground before this most recent strike activity.

Nicaraguan Youth

In Nicaragua there have been mass demonstrations and petition campaigns organized by youth to demand the voting age be lowered for the planned national elections in November 1984. The Sandinistas had originally set a voting age of 18. Since the protests, the Sandinistas have proposed a voting age of 16. Many teen-aged youth of today in Nicaragua were active combatants in the fight to bring down the US-backed Somoza dictatorship in 1979.

Salvadoran Elections

This working class mobilization takes place against the backdrop of preparations for the March 25 elections in El Salvador. In addition to the fact that opponents of the US puppet regime here would face assassination if they were to run in the elections, this working class offensive completely undercuts the Reagan administration claim that the elections are "democratic." It is no wonder that there has been a complete news blackout on the subject in the US. (According to the Spanish national news agency EFE, more than 2500 US troops have been sent to the Honduran border with El Salvador in addition to the 1900 that are already there, no doubt they are part of guaranteeing a "democratic" election also.)

FLMN Proposal

The development of a working class mobilization in El Salvador is both a signal that the civil war is reaching a decisive stage, and a warning of the need for a revolutionary leadership to put the Salvadoran proletariat at the head of the permanent, socialist revolution. In the last days of the Nicaraguan civil war, it was the entrance of the urban proletariat of Managua into the battle that allowed the Sandinistas and their newly swelled forces of young peasants and workers to enter the capital and finish

Somoza.

Unfortunately, such a leadership does not yet exist in El Salvador. At the same time as these strikes were developing in El Salvador, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) — leadership of the guerrilla forces in El Salvador — offered a proposal for a "Provisional Government of Broad Participation" that would include the bourgeoisie and its parties. But the experience of Chile and numerous other examples in Latin America show the bloody results of the Popular Front (alliance with the capitalist parties). The objective of the revolutionary forces must be a Workers and Peasants Government!

The mobilization of the US working class against the policies of US imperialism in Central America can be a key element in breaking the isolation of the revolution in Central America and laying the basis for such a government in El Salvador and throughout Central America.

Racist Democrats

An all-white jury just acquitted Luis Alvarez, a Miami policeman, in the murder of Nevell Johnson Jr., a young Black man, in Miami.

At the trial, the policeman claimed that he shot Nevell in self-defense, that Nevell was reaching for a gun. But in the official statements that he made the day of the incident, he had said nothing about this. His lawyers appealed to the jury to acquit him because "conviction of an officer who was trying to arrest an armed suspect would be tantamount to giving armed criminals 'new rights,'" according to the *New York Times*. And the jury took only two hours to go along with him. So much for innocent until proven guilty.

Even worse, the state of Florida and the city of Miami have been preparing for this verdict since January when the trial began, according to the *Detroit Free Press*. And immediately following the verdict police cordoned off the Black districts in Miami, and sent in specially-trained riot squads who carried out mass arrests and "community relations activists" who

appealed for calm.

"There weren't many left to arrest. We got large numbers of trouble-makers off the street," said one cop. "We were prepared, very efficient. I think the show of force we had scared them into staying home," said another.

This is not the first time this happened in Miami. Miami courts acquitted four policemen who beat to death a young Black insurance man. And Miami Blacks responded with protest, just as they did when Alvarez murdered Johnson.

Nor is it the last. Many papers have reported this story. What they haven't bothered to report is that Florida governor Graham and Miami mayor Maurice Ferre, who prepared and guided this entire operation, are both Democrats.

Once again, we need to bury this party, not "heal its wounds" as Jesse Jackson is trying to do. This is the way to bring an end to such racist attacks.

M.G.